1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

political would seem to be, for example, at the medial lineage among the Tallensi, beyond which generation differences are not recognized; and at the village among the Nuer. It seems probable that in the old Ngoni system the village was also the significant unit, above which relationships were dominantly political and below which they were largely determined by the multiplex sentiments and activities arising out of kinship and domestic association. This is certainly so in modern Ngoniland, although the same principles of organization no longer apply at all levels.

I have described elsewhere the critical position of the modern Ngoni headman, linking the political system with the network of ties of kinship and co-residence operative within the village, and similar conditions have been reported elsewhere by Gluckman and Mitchell. Above the village, whether in a state or in a stateless society, relations are in the main between enduring groups and are defined with respect to interests vital to the survival of these groups, even if expressed in the idiom of kinship.[36]

Granted the existence of primitive states with continually segmenting political systems, such as the Zulu and Ngoni, it is then possible to look at from another point of view the various African political systems for which there is adequate information. In terms of political segmentation on a unilineal basis, states like the Ngoni and Zulu are closer in form to the stateless societies of the Nuer, Tallensi, Gusii and Logoli than to the Nupe and Kede states with their administrative systems largely independent of unilineal affiliation. To document this point fully would take us beyond the scope of this book; our purpose here is merely to emphasize the importance in comparative studies of examining political structures from more than one point of view.

When talking of states, we make the convenient distinction between internal and external political relations. No such simple distinction can be made with stateless societies, for in them relations which are external to one segment are internal to the next higher segment, and yet may still legitimately be regarded as political relations. The pre-Shakan chiefdoms of Zululand formed a system similar to the Tallensi maximal lineages, and we may speak therefore in that instance of a segmentary system regulating political relations between states. Ngoni external relations were not regulated in this way, for the Ngoni were isolated and unique in a region

[36] For this section, see Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* and 'Kinship among the Nuer'; Fortes, *Web of kinship*; Wagner, *Bantu of North Kavirondo*; Mayer, *Lineage principle in Gusii society*; Gluckman, 'Analysis of a social situation' and 'Kingdom of the Zulu'; Gluckman, *et al.*, 'Village headman'.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

where other states, if states they were, organized themselves on quite different lines. Ngoni external political relations were restricted to acts of war. They harried their neighbours but did not bring them into enduring political relationship. When fission occurred, when the Ngoni State split into two, then indeed the fighting that took place was war between segments, and for a while an inter-segment relationship which had been internal became external and was mediated through force. Relations of this kind did not persist, for independent Ngoni groups soon diverged from each other, seeking weaker enemies.

5. *Lineage systems compared*

Our argument in the preceding section was directed to showing that the old Ngoni society was a state in which internal political relations were largely determined by a continually segmenting residential system. We compared it with other societies in which lineage systems provided the basis for political relations. We now have to ask how did this residential system differ from these similar systems; was it a kind of lineage system?

Gluckman has set out nine criteria by which a lineage system may be distinguished and which we may apply to the residential system.[37] In the first place we must expand the meaning of the word descent before we can call an Ngoni segment a unilineal descent group. However it seems justifiable to regard the process by which an Ngoni captive sundered the ties linking him to his natal community and was then incorporated in a new one as a kind of social death and re-birth.[38] We may then speak of a captive being socially descended from his lord. More familiarly, we must use descent to include social descent from a man when biological descent is from his kinsman acting as pro-husband for him after his death, and from a woman when biological descent is from her linked junior co-wife. With these extensions of meaning, we may regard the residential system as composed of unilineal descent groups.

Lineage segments, particularly small ones, are usually exogamous, whereas no Ngoni segment was automatically an exogamous unit. True agnatic kin could not marry one another, but the quasi-agnatic relationship between a lord and his dependants was not a bar, and a man and woman with the same captor were free to marry each other, even though they both called their lord *father*.

[37] Gluckman, in Mitchell and Barnes, *Lamba village*, pp. 4-5.
[38] cf. Warner's description of the passing of light-skinned Negroes in the United States into the White caste as 'social death'.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

The genealogies which related members of one segment to those of another were made up not only of links from father to son but also from lord to dependant, and were expressed in terms of the names of segments rather than the names of the people who headed them. A man related himself to the Paramount Chief not by his own genealogy but by the pedigree of the segment to which he belonged.[39] Although the number of links in such a pedigree may have been half a dozen or more, it did not cover more than two or three generations, whereas in most lineage systems remembered genealogies cover many more generations. The present kinship nomenclature, which mainly employs words of Nsenga origin, does not group relatives on a lineage, or segmental, basis but by generation. Presumably the system of nomenclature in use during the early stages of the Ngoni migration was similar to the present Zulu system in which lineage categories are used slightly. Tribes like the Shona and Cewa, from whom many captives were taken, employ systems of nomenclature with great lineage emphasis, but this emphasis is patrilineal among the former and matrilineal among the latter. The difficulty of combining patrilineal and matrilineal categories may have prompted the emergence of a generation system of nomenclature.[40]

Another point of difference between the Ngoni and many people with lineage systems is that, other than possibly the rites associated with choosing a new village site, there seem to have been no ritual observances or ancestor cult which would have differentiated one segment from another and united the various segments of lower order within a higher one. The only ancestors to whom supplication was made were those of the Paramount Chief. They were believed to be concerned with the well-being of the whole nation, and when sacrifices were made to them, the officiants were not their agnatic descendants but the Paramount Chief's lieutenants. We may, however, regard the byre in the headquarters village as a ceremonial, rather than a ritual, centre for a large segment.

In these four respects the Ngoni residential system differed from most lineage systems. On the other hand, in respect of other criteria it was like them. A segment recognized its identity and unity in contrast to other groups; rights and obligations of segment membership were distinguished from those of kinship; segments endured in time beyond the death of their founding members;

[39] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 466.

[40] cf. Barnes, 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 221-5; Gluckman, 'Kinship and marriage', pp. 170-1; Holleman, *Hera kinship*, pp. 1-18; Pretorius, 'Terms of relationship', pp. 44-8.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

(a) ***'Those from the south'***

These were the descendants of the leaders of the two main Ngoni groups represented by the two Ngoni kingdoms, with their followers, who left Natal during the wars of Shaka. They were South-eastern Bantu of Nguni stock, and when they were first encountered by Europeans in Nyasaland, the Europeans called them Zulus and spoke of their language as Zulu. Ngoni informants in the 1930's who were regarded as most reliable repudiated their relationship with the Zulu, and always referred to their ethnic origin as a people of Swazi stock. Y. M. Cibambo whose knowledge of Ngoni traditions was unrivalled, said in his book *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*—'Very many of them [the Ngoni] came from Swaziland, which is north of Zululand'.[1] A nostalgic refrain occurred in more than one of their traditional songs:

> Come let us go to Swaziland
> Where the people die fat.[2]

Cultural affinities between the Ngoni in Nyasaland and the people now living in Swaziland and, to a lesser degree, with the Zulu, will be examined in several chapters of this book. In the chapter on clan descent names in Part III, we shall compare the clan names called Swazi by the Ngoni with the lists of clan names given by Bryant in *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* [3] and with the list given by Kuper, in *An African Aristocracy*,[4] of the Swazi and pre-Swazi clans. The military organization of the Ngoni, the age-set system which formed part of it, and other cultural features which will be discussed in Chapter III of this section, all show a general cultural affinity with the peoples of the northern Nguni group of the South-eastern Bantu.

The separation of the Ngoni group from the parent stock, which took place at about the same time as the Ndebele and the Shangaan groups fought their way north, occurred before the Swazi and Zulu kingdoms took final form. It is more correct, therefore, to say that Ngoni cultural affinities were with the northern Nguni group as a whole than to say they were off-shoots of either the Zulu or the Swazi. The Ngoni themselves used the designation 'Swazi' for the people with clan descent names whose ancestors left the south with the original party. Some of the older men remembered their fathers and grandfathers speaking of their clan as having belonged to the Ntungwa group, the Mtetwa group, the Msane group, before the departure of the Ngoni took place. This differentiation into pre-Swazi tribal and clan groupings was not in the 1930's one to which the Ngoni gave much attention. In talking about their southern origin it was the Swazi connexion which they emphasized.

[1] Cibambo, Y. M. *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*. Lutterworth Press, 1942, p. 8.
[2] Read, M. 'Songs of the Ngoni People.' *Bantu Studies*, March 1937, p. 10.
[3] Bryant, A. T. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*. Longmans, 1929, pp. 681–97.
[4] Kuper, H. *An African Aristocracy*. O.U.P., 1947, p. 233.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

to leave and went straight to the country of the Makombe. They conquered it and came to the Nyungwi and conquered them too.

When they wanted to cross the Zambesi they made medicine and beat the water with a stick and separated it. All the army crossed and reached Kalumbi. They fought there, and there Magadlela died and Mgoola took care of the chieftainship. Mgoola came with all the army to Ntumba and caught many Ntumba people. In the Ntumba country Mputa entered the chieftainship.

(*b*) '*Those from south of the Zambesi*'

In the northern kingdom two main groups were included in this category: those whose clan names showed Tsonga origin and those who showed Karanga origin. Bryant [1] wrote of the army under Zwangendaba hacking its way through Tsongaland almost by the same route as the army under Soshangane, who fought and defeated him on the headwaters of the Sabi river. To his Tsonga adherents Zwangendaba added a number from the Karanga country, many of whom, trained to fight by the Ngoni, became famous warriors in the Ngoni campaigns farther north.

The Ngoni under Ngwana with Nqaba and his army kept nearer to the coast, and fought their battle with Soshangane (whom they called Gaza in the text quoted) on the Busi river near Sofala. The two main groups of adherents whom they forced to join them were from the Ndau and Venda peoples, called collectively the Venda group by the Ngoni. Bryant [1] spoke of Nqaba's conquest of the Ndau people on the Busi river, which would indicate that the Venda leaders and their families were already part of the Ngoni army when the Ndau were added. Although, according to central Ngoni tradition, Ngwana's army with its followers zigzagged across the country between the Sabi river and the Zambesi, they do not appear to have collected adherents in any large numbers from the tribal areas through which they passed. This supposition is only based on internal evidence, that of the clan names recognized by the Ngoni as having come from south of the Zambesi.

(*c*) '*Those from the march*'

After crossing the Zambesi, the central Ngoni went by the Kirk Range into the western part of what is now the Ncheu district. Then they turned east, crossed the Shire river near Fort Johnston and went up the east side of the lake to the Livingstone mountains in the Songea district of Tanganyika where they fought with the northern Ngoni under the Gama clan. The clan descent names of followers acquired on this route included those from the Ntumba people on the Kirk Range whom they conquered on their first arrival in Nyasaland, and the Tengo people from Songea, some of whom were incorporated with

[1] op. cit. p. 461

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

these Ngoni before they were defeated and driven out of Songea by the Gama group of Ngoni.

The northern Ngoni, who travelled east of the Luangwa valley into Tanganyika, acquired followers with clan descent names from the Nsenga in Northern Rhodesia and the Safwa and Sukuma in Tanganyika.

(*d*) '*Those from this country*'

Under this category were included all the local peoples in Nyasaland who either were conquered by the Ngoni or surrendered to them, and who were brought within the rule of the Ngoni kingdoms. These in the northern kingdom were chiefly of Tumbuka and Henga clans, with others from Cewa and Bemba stock. In the central kingdom the local clan names were of Cewa and Yao origin.

Two conclusions emerge from this review of the ethnic composition of the Ngoni kingdoms. The first is that the use of Ngoni as a tribal designation causes confusion. In this study the term Ngoni will be used when referring to persons whose clan descent names show that their ancestors were of Swazi or trans-Zambesi stock—that is categories (*a*) and (*b*) in this chapter. This criterion of who were Ngoni would probably not correspond with the criteria used in the 1945 census enumeration. The enumerators may have asked a direct question, 'Are you Ngoni?'; they may have asked the person's clan descent name; they may have asked to which kingdom or chiefdom he belonged; or they may have asked all four questions or any two. Since the Ngoni were found in every district in the country it was likely that there was little uniformity in the form of the questions asked by the enumerators or in the criteria admitted by those being questioned for declaring themselves to be Ngoni.

The second conclusion is that even if the criterion is accepted that the Ngoni were those whose ancestors crossed the Zambesi, the Ngoni kingdoms as political states included all the four elements (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*). The status of the ethnically distinct groups in the kingdoms varied according to their clan names which indicated whether they came from the south or had been incorporated at a later stage. Ngoni forms of culture were found not only in groups (*a*) and (*b*), as would be expected, but often among families in group (*c*) who, through fighting in the Ngoni armies and marrying into Ngoni families, had adopted their social and ritual pattern.[1]

[1] Since the first draft of this book was written, Dr. Barnes's study of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, *Politics in a Changing Society* (O.U.P., 1954), has appeared. The early history of the Ngoni in the northern kingdom is the same as that of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, up to the final separation of the kingdoms under Mpeseni and Mbelwa. Dr. Barnes's excellent bibliography gives the sources for the historical documentation of their travels. A brief sketch of the history of the two groups under the leadership of the Jere and Maseko Paramounts is given in Mary Tew's *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

643 kingdom and from Portuguese territory arrived to mourn. The grave
766 was made at the edge of the kraal and the kraal fence enlarged to take it in so that the cattle might walk on it.

643 In this chapter I have tried to bring together some of the chief
● 174 elements in the position of the Paramount, and in the performance of his duties, which were remembered by the old men as having been characteristic of pre-European days. Some of these features, as I have indicated, had disappeared in the 1930's. Others survived and will be illustrated in Chapter V. Chapters III and IV on the royal women and on the officials in the kingdoms will illustrate the importance of the leading women in the Ngoni kingdoms, and the hierarchy of officials already mentioned in Chapter II of Part I.

643 The texts of the praise-songs which conclude this chapter are given
533 because in the 1930's they were still recited in the royal villages and were a feature of all public ceremonies. Most of the allusions in the texts were obscure. Cibambo, who translated them for me and who consulted other older men, did not recognize some of the names or the meaning of the attributes. Some names corresponded with those given in Part I in the texts about the departure of the Ngoni in their two groups from Natal (see pp. 7, 8), such as the Nqumayo people whom Zwide ruled over, Nqaba who left with Ngwana, Nyathi who tried to prevent Ngwana from leaving. But in the way in which they were used in the 1930's these praise-songs had little meaning for those who heard them except as a form of salutation to the Paramount.

Praises of Zwangendaba, son of Hlacwayo

643 Zwangendaba whose intention it is to be black who denies it to be light.
Go away, let us go, you the rejected one.
533 We are like a man of the Ntungwa, a fat one; there the people die as fat
539 ones.
Nqaba you must eat people. Leave the cattle.
Nqaba son of Lushwana, there was confusion.
There he is, there he is, where do they see him? They see him in the fences of his mothers.
One who is angry because the cattle have gone with the calves.
His great cunning overcomes the magic stones of the doctors.
I have gone away until I have seen Lebombo Mountains.
We are suffering on account of the great dispute with the Nqumayo people.
You are seeing the hoes which are waiting for you, the hoes which cannot be used for hoeing.
He saw it, the short grass, he was biting it hastily.
He saw it, the ditch, his foot slipped into it.
He who divided the water with a stick at the Zambesi.
He who remembered the cattle of the Balunjana.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

INTRODUCTION

MARRIAGE among the Ngoni is much the same as anywhere else. It establishes a relationship between a man and a woman, regulates their sexual activities, locates their children in the kinship system and influences the inheritance of their property. These general features, however, do no more than define and identify marriage, and distinguish marriage from concubinage. Our task is to analyse the particular features that distinguish Ngoni marriage from other marriage systems and to relate marriage to other institutions and social processes in Ngoni society.

In Ngoni history there has always been marriage. Indeed men and women look back longingly to a past when people married properly and decorously, and when adulterers were killed, and bemoan the promiscuity of the present when no woman's fidelity is certain. Yet even now old people still expect their juniors to marry and their expectations are fulfilled. Adults are assumed to be married, and the assumption is justified.

Marriage is seen by the Ngoni as part of the natural order. Unmarried adults cannot fill important roles and are regarded as overgrown children whose anomalous condition must be explained by reference to a malady or a physical or moral defect. Yet despite the universal and permanent character of marriage as an Ngoni institution there have been, in the course of the hundred and thirty years which constitute Ngoni history, great changes in the procedures and implications of marriage and in its relations to other aspects of the social life of which it is a part. These changes have been paralleled in other Ngoni institutions, in law, in local organization, in religion and above all in political structure. In this paper we shall attempt to contrast the institution of marriage as seen at two stages in Ngoni history and to relate it to the general plan of social life at these two periods. We shall also discuss some of the processes of change that have brought about the differences we observe and which to some extent are still at work in contemporary Ngoni society.

It is convenient to compare marriage as it was during the 1890's and as it is at the present day. The information relating to the earlier period is contained only to a slight extent in contemporary documents,[1] and consists largely in the recollections of older men and women as recorded by a number of writers from 1914 onwards. The

[1] The most important of these are Wiese's articles, 'Expedição portugueza a M'Pesêne (1889)', in *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, x (1891) pp. 235-73, 331-430, 465-97, and xi (1892) pp. 373-599. (All page references cited are from Vol. X); and 'Beitrage zür Geschichte der Zulu im Norden des Zambesi, namentlich der Angoni,' *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxii (1900), pp. 181-200.

information is insufficient for any reconstruction in great detail, but the general principles are clear and to some extent our conclusions can be checked by reference to material from other areas, particularly the nineteenth century accounts of the Ngoni of Northern Nyasaland and the Zulu. The account of present-day marriage is based on information collected in the field during 1946-9.[1]

The period of the 1890's is chosen for comparison with the present because of the catastrophic change in Ngoni life which occurred in 1898 when they were defeated by the British. Old people who were alive during the period are still available for questioning and many younger people have been told of those times by their parents and grandparents. Although Ngoni cannot generally remember beyond their grandparents, genealogies collected now yield some information about the 1890's and link that period to the present. Important social changes occurred in 1898, changes which for the greater part were, and still are, regretted by the Ngoni, and these accentuate the difference between time present and time past. The past is recollected and recounted and has a moral value. Children are taught the glories of the past to compensate them for the inadequacies of the present. The teaching of tribal history as a school subject reinforces this view. With the passage of time the past has been idealised and simplified but the picture is still clear enough for us to be able to distinguish probable fact from unlikely rationalization. Marriage in 'the time of peace', as the period prior to 1898 is called, is one aspect of this picture.

Marriage is one part of kinship, for it is by the twin processes of marriage and childbirth that the web of kinship is spun. For the purposes of our analysis we have had to sever marriage from its context in what may appear at times rather an arbitrary fashion. A society is a whole, if not always a well integrated whole, and no one part of it can be fully understood without a simultaneous knowledge of all its other parts. Societies persist, more or less, through time, and it is clear that we cannot hope to grasp the total significance of the working of a society at any one time without a knowledge of the changes or lack of change in that society both before and after. Yet we cannot marshal all these relationships simultaneously, let alone present them through the medium of words. Our attempt to comprehend the present cannot wait until we have full knowledge of the future, and our analysis of one sector of a system must proceed in advance of our synthesis of the whole. Ngoni society has persisted through the last sixty years rather less than more, and it may well be argued that present-day Ngoni society is poorly integrated. Nevertheless it is to be hoped that an analysis of Ngoni marriage may, on the one hand, demonstrate

[1] I made two visits to the Fort Jameson Ngoni while on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, spending in all a year and eight months there. I was assisted by my clerk, Mr. M. B. Lukhero, in inquiring into former conditions as well as observing contemporary social life.

5: Allan C-5 (1941) 1949

FR5 Ngoni FR5 ●
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4
Lamba FQ8

PART IV

THE RESETTLEMENT OF NATIVE POPULATIONS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

§ 1. *The Problem and its Origin*

IN Northern Rhodesia and doubtless over a much greater part of Africa before the coming of the Europeans, the population-land pattern was a changing, kaleidoscopic picture. If an area became overcrowded more land was available, or it could be taken from a neighbouring people. A rough balance between land and population was maintained by means of migration, inter-tribal wars, periodic famine and disease.

With the coming of the European the kaleidoscopic picture was arrested, producing what we may call the primary population-land pattern. This was later modified, by alienation and reservation of land and by the movement of peoples into Native reserves, to produce a secondary pattern. New economic factors have so far modified this secondary pattern only to a minor extent, but it may be expected that they will tend to do so increasingly in the future.

The secondary population-land pattern was brought about mainly by the movement of the African population into Native reserves. As a result of this movement large areas of Crown Land were left practically uninhabited, and a number of factors operating together brought about mal-distribution and congestion of populations within the reserves themselves.

So far the problem has been studied in detail only in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts of the Eastern Province, the Mkushi District of the Central Province and the Ndola District of the Western Province, and it is within these districts that resettlement work—other than the 'Chitemene Control' scheme—has been carried out. The four districts are contiguous and the total area within them to which this discussion refers is about 33,800 square miles (4,000 square miles more than the whole land area of Scotland but only about one-ninth of the area of Northern Rhodesia) with a total population, in round figures, of 290,000 (about one-sixth of the total populaton of the Territory).

The primary population-land pattern was such that the ten tribes living within this area had ample or much more than ample land, except to a minor extent in the Fort Jameson District where the incursion of the immigrant Ngoni in the later 19th century had created a potential congestion problem. Under former conditions this problem would doubtless have resolved itself as it arose by migration of the Chewa to north and west, under pressure from the Ngoni, but once the kaleidoscopic pattern was arrested no such

7: Hodgson G-5 (1926) 1933 FR5 Ngoni FR5 Maravi FR4

Livingstone found chief Mwase, at Kasungu, ruling over "a section of Mang'anja, called Machewa, or Macheba[1]."

For some years the Achewa enjoyed a peaceful existence in their new home, keeping cattle, but living mainly by agriculture, until their tranquility was disturbed by the Ngoni invasion and by the slave raids of the Jumbe[2] at Kota Kota. By these the eastern branch of Achewa was continually harassed; and consequently in 1893 Dzoole, Kanyenda and others of the house of Karonga moved south to the Kasangadzi and Mtiti Rivers, and in 1896 handed over this part of the country to the protection of the British Government.

The Angoni, under the name of Mazitu, were described by Livingstone as Zulus,[3] and this terminological error has been copied by more than one subsequent writer. Of their earlier wanderings no record has been traced. Owing, perhaps, to their lighter colour it has been surmised that they came from far up the east coast; but it is known that under the style of Abe-nguni, derived from an ancient chief Mnguni, they were settled on the Dedesi, a small tributary of the upper St. John's River, when the Aba-mbo first arrived in Natal about 1620.[4] In this locality they remained for a couple of centuries, till towards the end of his reign the notorious Zulu king Chaka fell upon their allies the Ama-ndwandwe under Zwide. A section of the Abe-nguni then migrated northwards under Zwangendaba; and wherever they went they fought and subdued the peoples through whose country they passed, seizing cattle and incorporating captives in their own tribe. After raiding the Aba-suto, Ama-swazi, Aba-thonga[5] and Ama-kalanga, they crossed the Zambezi near Zumbo at the time of the total eclipse of the sun on the 19th of November, 1835,[6] and overran the territories of the Aba-senga, A-tumbuka, A-safwa and A-mandewere till they came to the land of the Wa-fipa and Wa-sukuma.

Here Zwangendaba (or Songandawa, as he is generally called in Nyasaland) died, and his following broke up and scattered in different directions. While others advanced to the north and east, four sections turned back, one under Mombera to the Tumbuka country, another under Mpezeni to the Loangwa river, the third under Chiwere to Dowa, and the fourth under Chikusi still further south. It is with the third section that we are now dealing. The hybrid nature of the Dowa Angoni can be inferred from the list of clans given in a subsequent section (IV, 2). During the last four decades they have intermarried still further with the Achewa, and there are now few, if any, pure-blooded Angoni in the district. Their paramount chief, Chiwere, though calling himself an Mngoni, is in reality an Msenga.

The general features, characteristics and habits of these peoples are akin to those of neighbouring tribes which have been described by the Reverend Duff Macdonald,[7] Miss Alice Werner

[1] D. and C. Livingstone: *loc. cit.*, pp. 526, 548.

[2] A coast Arab, acting as *wali*, or representative, of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

[3] D. and C. Livingstone: *loc. cit.*, p. 381.

[4] Eric A. Walker: *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, p. 6. J. H. Soga: *The South-Eastern Bantu*, pp. 81, *et seq.*

[5] In ph and th each consonant is pronounced. Similarly, in oo and ee each vowel is pronounced.

[6] E. H. L. Poole: *Journal African Society*, vol. xxix, No. cxv, p. 390.

[7] Rev. Duff Macdonald, *Africana*. Miss Alice Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*. Dr. H. S. Stannus, *The Wayao of Nyasaland*, Harvard African Studies III, *Varia Africana* III, pp. 229-372, "Notes on Some Tribes of British Central Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xl, 1910, pp. 285-385, etc., etc.

12: Barnes--1 E-5 (1946-1948) 1948 FR5 Ngoni FR5 Mpezeni

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The Material Culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni

I

During the 1820s, the rise to power of the Zulu chief Chaka in South Africa led to a number of migrations to the north led by lesser chiefs who wished to avoid a clash with the Zulu armies, or who had already clashed and had been defeated. The descendants of these migrants are to-day living scattered over East Africa, from Lake Victoria to near Lourenço Marques. Many of these still call themselves Ngoni, a term derived from Nguni, a word used to describe themselves while they were still in the south. The leader of one of these Ngoni migrations was Zwangendaba, and it is his descendants who are to be found in Northern Rhodesia and elsewhere at the present time. The only group in this country recognised as Ngoni by the Administration is to be found in Fort Jameson District, under Paramount Chief Mpezeni. Formerly a tribe living in Lundazi District under Chief Magodi was officially called Ngoni, but they are now known to the Administration as Tumbuka. They represent the western salient of the old empire of Mombera, a son of Zwangendaba, whose descendant is now a chief in Nyasaland. This article deals only with the people under Chief Mpezeni.

Zwangendaba led his people northwards, fighting and taking captives as he went, crossed the Zambezi in 1835, an event that happened to coincide with a solar eclipse, and after passing through the present-day Eastern Province, died near Lake Tanganyika in about 1845. His party then split up, one son, Mpezeni, leading his followers south-westwards towards the Bemba and the Wisa in the Northern Province. From there they moved southwards, crossed the Luangwa, and settled in Petauke District. In about 1865 they moved eastwards and settled to the north of the Mpangwe Hills in Fort Jameson District. Some ten years later they went further east, and in 1881, when they were first visited by a European, they had reached